

INTERVIEW WITH JOHN D. (DENNY) HOLT
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1. Dunar What we're looking at doing with this is trying to get the JSC perspective on what has gone on in Space Station. We've been getting the Marshall perspective of course, and we're just trying to see a little bit of the other side of the relationships and such, critical relationships. If I could ask you to tell me a little bit about what you have done on Space Station and the nature of your contacts with people from Marshall.

2. Holt I've had on Station, I worked with Skylab also back in the experiments days so I had to work with Marshall back in that time frame also, the early '70s. On the Station, most of my background is in operations. I originally came into this organization to put the project hat on the operations development at JSC. I had the cash and the schedule from here. That was kind of a change for JSC. The whole culture of this program was a different culture. The idea that a project office would somehow fence off JSC institution from Headquarters and provide that oversight. It didn't work, and it hasn't worked at Marshall either. Everybody had struggled with the structure of this program and to a great degree, Marshall has probably always been a little more resistive than JSC has to the program

penetrating it. JSC has always fostered the "let's go get them," and "we want to go find out a program and search out every nook and cranny and do as much work as we can."

Marshall's always been much more regulated with a thing that says "we want a set of requirements and we're going to work it this way and when we can meet your requirements we'll come tell you." The difference in culture there is quite dramatic, and I've worked with Marshall on Spacelab payload missions when I was running federal operations for MOD and then also back in the Skylab days when we were doing payload operations and we actually operated the experiments that Marshall built. The split on this program was along the lines of Spacelab to where payload operations is Marshall's job and spacecraft operations and of course systems operations is a JSC job. Apparently, that's borrowing on the Spacelab model. Skylab we did all the operations at JSC. Marshall has been very effective in changing their center culture away from just power and thunder to also doing a lot of work for the science community, building payloads, and operating them. In as such, they've made quite a niche there, and they've exploited that niche pretty effectively. In fact, back at the end of 1989 in some of the cost cutting we were doing, we had quite a bit of conversation with Ray Tanner as program director at that time over cost saving measures. One of the ideas was to consolidate at least on the front end of the program, the federal operations activity in Huntsville with the control

center here at JSC and not build another facility and not expand the POCC over there until a later time. Pretty much that was perceived as a run on jobs in the Huntsville area and it progressed under Coors after the big Langley hurrah. We did first big round of cost savings after we've finally got everybody on the contract. We had presented some cost options and Marshall, Jack Bullman pulled together for Fletcher Kurtz back in those days and Carolyn Griner was in Huntsville of course at Level 1 and then ultimately went back. I pulled together the JSC story what it would mean to use their existing infrastructure. Jack Bullman said "Here's what we're putting on the table in terms of development." The costs racked up at a quarter of a billion dollars over seven years versus a billion dollars over seven years. It was pretty much admitted, Marshall knew that if it came down to just a pure cost story, it was going to get in trouble. It came down to a "Well we decided that we're going to go ahead and stay with a baseline program" which I think had a lot to do with the fact that the minute you put a thousand jobs on the table then there are those who get interested. We understood that interest went as high as Senator Heflin, so it's not unexpected. That's been one of the things that you see when you get into the programmatics especially in this program. There's been so much discussion about balance between JSC and Marshall. If you look historically they've always been within 50 jobs of each other. I'm sure you've heard that in the past that says

that we've always had to maintain a balance between the two centers. That's probably my story that adds to the thing that says regardless of the cost, if you upset the apple cart than you're getting into the balance too much there. The minute you tread over into political territory then the answer comes out with a little thing that says this is the answer and we're comfortable with the baseline program as is regardless of cost. That's kind of what we did. There has not been acrimony. Quite frankly, at the working level, the culture, I mean we've never had a problem of getting to an answer with Marshall. Typically it always comes down to a point in time where it says philosophical differences aside, what can we now do since its at the last moment that we have to do something. It's always had that flavor to it. The two managements have tended to want to not go solve the problems so much as they've let the technical solutions bubble and then go in at the last minute and make decisions. I think that's been almost the modus operandi of Marshall/JSC operations over the whole time I've been involved.

3. Dunar One of the things we've found and it's not just peculiar to Station, but we've found that there seems to be a lot of acrimony between the two centers at the beginning of a project when you're dividing pies essentially and maybe things get better once the pie is divided. Is that true in light of the Station thing?

4. Holt Sure.

5. Dunar I guess one thing that makes Station different is that with all the redesigns and rescoping everything is that you go through that process more than just at the beginning of a program.

6. Holt You always end up, and we're there today, to where one of the most difficult arguments we had in the early requirements days on the design was over the definition of the data management system. JSC has always looked at things from a standpoint of we want to preserve flexibility within the operations. I think probably everything JSC does is from a standpoint of ultimately we have the operator here and we have to satisfy him. If we err in our design approaches it tends to be on the side of adding flexibility and covering more bets. Marshall is much more driven toward a thing that says "I have a set of requirements and I'm going to build this thing to where it meets that set of requirements and if you don't like it you can come visit me at my design reviews and we'll discuss it at that point in time." They've been more effective in going about a classical design than JSC has because we are over half operations of this center by the time you take all the agendas into place. We tend to get penetrated at a lot of levels, and our contractors know that so they strive very

much to get an [097?] perspective going through. Marshall tends to then, the DMS for example, they had gone out and gone with a lot of imbedded data processors which makes good sense. I mean if you want to build it one time and operate it that way. The concern we had was that the Space Station tends to go together in pieces, and you know you're going to be reallocating the data management resources over time as you want to move off of the initial checkout and go to the operational phase where you need less data on the basic system and more band width and extended payloads and all. We were always looking toward the how to make it grow and Marshall was always looking for how can I build it and freeze the content and get it done, checked out, and delivered. From that standpoint I think that Marshall has always been more of a, they viewed their contract with the program as a contract and as a deliverable to the program. JSC has always viewed it more as an activity and a design improvement, and we'll work on it, work on it, work on it, and then we'll get as good as we can get.

7. Dunar That describes maybe the relationships between the centers and their contractors more than between each other.

8. Holt No it actually effects each other also because the difference in working groups run on this program, whoever has the center of activity for a system development like Marshall has the UCLSS. They also have the manned systems

even though most of the manned system, or at least the guys who at least think they're manned system reviewers are here. That's always debated at Marshall. The DMS working groups were here. GNC working groups were here. If you look in this program, the architectural control documents which are in effect the functional specifications, you may get ready to see CD come up in a couple of places, but those are the NASA spec that ties together the work factors so in the classical design that would be the CEI spec and then there would be contractor and contractor's specs below that CI spec. In effect we had to create a spec for system development. Like on the audio system that is delivered by Marshall, but the com-system is JSC as the overall architect. So you have two, Boeing has a CEI spec and McDonnell Douglas has a CEI spec. It's all tied together by ACD, architectural control document. That is the NASA spec.

9. Dunar Is that comparable to the interface control documents in Shuttle?

10. Holt No. We still had ICD, but that is the definition, the bulk of what that configuration must be both patterns and actions. This is the functions. This is the thing that says the wires string this way, there's this many buses, there's a device here. It's more of the end item specification for a system that you'd buy because in this program, since NASA is the prime, we had to invent a layer

of documentation which has almost been a travesty in the way it's been, it's gone backwards. It has led to, the ACDs never had real standards applied to them or any standards applied to them. Quite frankly they vary from something like that to about the DMS ACD is almost a foot thick, maybe a foot and a half. The ABA is about half an inch to an inch and the formats are different. A Lewis-developed system for the electrical power system is so much different from UCLSS and so much different from the [142?]. They're not the same. The horizontal integration on this program which was supposed to have been done by the program contractor or done by the collaboration of primes has not really been effective. A lot of that had to do with the fact that after level B, Restin never really got up and running. On this program, I think as much trouble as JSC and Marshall always have, it's always been more of a fun thing that says "we're better than you are and we'll compete with you over the right ideas and how to do this and you guys are wrong. You stodgy old Germans and you bunch of wild-eyed Air Force brats." It's just that type of thing that went back and forth until we all ended up with Restin and realized that any problems that we had in the past are almost nothing compared to what we've got now. In a lot of cases, it was almost impossible in this program to go underground to work something. We, Jim Odom, had the best idea in this program and actually came in with proposed associate contractors that says I will centralize primes to get together and work

things out so the fewer problems that come to government, then I'll incentivize you with [160?]. As soon as Odom and Tanner left, that went away overnight. Restin took that apart in five seconds.

11. Dunar Was that at the same time that the lead center concept . . . ?

12. Holt After that. The lead center at level B, Tom Mozer, was actually the first program manager. He's out of JSC. Tanner went up from Marshall. You get a lot of differences of opinion. I think probably from our perspective, the way a JSC program manager works, the real difference in the project sense of development, is the difference in the chief engineer. The chief engineer at Marshall, man he is an engineering guy. He is owned and operated by the director of the S&E labs. At JSC the chief engineer tends to be in the project office and not in engineering. JSC engineering has not had as strong SE&I activity as Marshall does within engineering. The project functions and program functions here tend to be large. We tend to co-locate in a lot of cases, but almost always they are under direct control of the program manager.

13. Dunar So JSC does not make use of a matrix type?

14. Holt Yes it does, but it's different in the effect that you don't have the chief engineer who actually issues technical direction. All technical direction is back in the project office and all contract direction is through that same channel. It tends to mean that at Marshall George Hopson is involved when cost, the schedule, and the requirements are threatened, and Dave Mably runs the day to day activity. George has a small office, 40 people 25 people, and John Erin, Jack Vorkin has always had close to a 100. SE&I has always tried to be associated with the project office. JSC is working on trying to make some changes in that area, but historically engineering has been technologies, and then the center has tapped those technologies. It got a lot stronger going during Shuttle when we didn't have any other programs going so therefore SE&I coordinated the program. There was not lot of reason for engineering [189?] SC&I was all one big happy family at the center. This Station program not having a SC&I in it has been the real killer. When level B went to Restin, the SC&I died in this program. Therefore you end up with standards being different on different contracts, no common content within the contracts.

15. Dunar Wasn't moving it to Restin supposed to avoid that?

16. Holt Yes, but a lot of what happened was the guys that invisioned the move to Headquarters, experienced program people and not that many of them moving up there, invisioned that system engineering could exist at that level, but not system integration. The mistake made with trying to pull system integration at the headquarters level without having people who could do hands on and they just had to fill too much of a team too fast.

17. Dunar The systems integration statement seems like an incredible nightmare.

18. Holt It is.

19. Dunar With the different work packages and trying to protect political consistencies. Could you comment on that?

20. Holt Yes, it's impossible. It literally gets down to a question all across the board until you are absolutely faced with "we have to get off the dime." Then nothing happens. Typically in this program what has happened to us is, and a lot of the reasons that we've taken as much heat as we have in Work Package 2, is the fact that we had to be there first. Marshall had the luxury of sitting back knowing that the schedule for the node and the schedule for the lab was never going to be there, and we had to be there with all our stuff before they ever got there any how. So we were always

under the gun to force the issue on scheduling to try to get agreements on what the configuration would be and the very, very details of the ICD.

21. Dunar You probably had to face costs crisis first?

22. Holt Oh yes, and we've worn our share of the burden for that. We've really paid dearly for moving out assuming that we had to do the right thing and get it over with and that we would be taken of, and we were taken care of all right. I think that probably what happened was that John Erwin always viewed that you could sit down across the table with George Hopson and cut a deal and that deal was done. What largely happened was though that the two-tiered system at Marshall, John was, if he chose to be, Chief Engineer and Project Manager. He could do the deal right then. Turn right around and tell Mike Jackson without any engineering input, "I want to do this. Move out." George always had engineering input so he always had a constituency that was looking behind it before he got there, and George was always slower to commit than John was because John was always working the engineering along with the project and George was always asking Modly what the answer was.

23. Dunar Which system do you think was more effective?

24. Holt In this program, I think the problem is that the mix of the systems. If you want to get something, if you're really faced with tremendous schedule pressures and cost pressures, then they both have disadvantages to where we've been. We've had tendency since John was King in everything else, I mean he could literally go in and eviscerate a system if he wanted to, move all the testing out and do whatever. He had total control. The Marshall system would never allow with Dave Modly or George to have that total control. From that standpoint, there's probably a much more conservative and cautious approach out at Marshall that says that we will be back to the program if we can't deliver on this thing. With JSC I think we've always tended to take the challenge, move out, find out that that didn't quite work, go back and ask for forgiveness. Forgiveness is getting pretty tough in today's times. I think in the way government service is going, the way NASA's going, that the only way that centers are going to be able to survive is to adopt pretty a Marshall style of management that says you have a project office but that project office does not have autonomy and neither does the chief engineer. In the scheme of today since you're going to be working largely, the project guy will probably be at Headquarters anyway, then you'll want smaller offices. Luther Powell, if you go back, I don't know if you talked to Luther or not, but Luther tried to change the Marshall culture. He tried to put in a 100 man office over there. He was gong to run it JSC style

in effect, and they took him apart and got him back to something that's smaller. I think JSC right now in the organizational lookings that it's doing recognizes today that in a day when cost is more than just a measure, it is actually something you can get fired for, then JSC will go back now and start to look at, we're looking at different management organization approaches. It will go back, we can't organize quite like Marshall because we've got such preponderance of STS here, but we will probably end up organizing along a Marshall with a Goddard projects office flavor to it. Something that has a directory to the whole program.

25. Dunar Is the center environment going to change the traditional [267?] of the center's being semi-autonomous?

26. Holt Yes. In effect it may give you, it probably gives you more autonomy for design because you go back to a prime contractor. That's been the real gut wrenching issue here is, when you take the documentation and you go in and look at the interpretation one level down, we could never accept the program requirements as written against the contract. All of the work packages today have exclusions that they have laid on to where they could not meet the program requirements. The program requirements are laid out as a fairly big document. They have tons of applicable documents associated with them. The program wants to operate on a

thing that says the current issues is the program requirement. No contractor will do business with you on current issue that says "Hey, don't worry I'll just send it to you, but it's OK." They want to know date, times, what changed. From that standpoint, there's always been, the program will always exist unless it actually gets into management contracts, will always be a little bit naive in terms of what is possible and how quickly you can determine. The closer you get to a milestone, the more critical it is. If you want to wave the requirements, hell you can get a lot done, but the program is very proud of its requirements. It has QA guys standing by with red stamps all over everywhere, and they'll bookkeep you to death. The minute, if you really want to reinvent and you want to get something simple, you have to get to a very very succinct government speciality, very, very simple statement of your requirements. Then you have to put your emphasis on what the contractor interpretation of that was and how you intended to verify that. I think that in no place is the difference between JSC and Marshall is as pronounced as it is in avionics. We have, the shuttle avionics was such a monster and the ability to fly, you couldn't afford a hiccup. It had to fly all the way to the ground. So that culture then that says check, check, check, test, test, test, big facilities with flight computers in them with flight tapes even within the training facilities, was the right answer for shuttle because it was a production

vehicle. For station, we are now back to where the shuttle avionics crowd had their cut in this program and the unbroken string in the latest round. You went through Arnie Aldridge who ran the orbiter project office and the orbiter avionics development. Dick [305?] who did systems integration but a lot of that was avionics. Bob Moorehead who had worked for Arnie and did avionics office. John Aaron who did space craft software under IBM contract. Dick Thorston who was over Mission Operations at JSC. Harold Dawson who worked at Level I as Moore's deputy and Eldrid McKinnley was the next guy when John Aaron moved on through Space Station. He became the space craft software division chief. So if anything happened in that world, it was more group think than anything. That has been, because the emphasis all of a sudden on facilities and big test rigs is really been probably is the one real difference in the way we were headed under Tanner which is the Marshall philosophy we don't need all that integration testing, all these avionics, we're going to go through an interface. I want this stuff just swapping back and forth. Some of this stuff we'll fix it and get on order. That is so anti-the Shuttle model that says no any bit that changes in the computer has to be trapped. Typically in station the risk is in the [plane flew overhead 325?] sounds. You're working on trying to get our redundancy established so you don't have a full system. Everything starts to shut down on you or you run into problems not being able to complete something then we

worried since you were all computer controlled that you had to check that very carefully. For the lab environment downstream that's probably right. You could probably turn the thing off and it would slow roll around for an hour or so and turn it back on. Even if you lost control you could establish control and that would be heresy in some parts of JSC. The fact that anybody would let a manned vehicle float out of control for ten seconds would be heresy. There is probably nothing that illustrates the difference there Bob Moorehead was willing to pay which was another \$300,000,000 worth of facilities to go do the total avionics integration to where Tanner was not willing to pay even for what was originally on our contract back in 1989 and issue directions for us to delete.

27. Dunar This is really fascinating stuff and in a way it runs counter to the image of Marshall's culture in the sense that the tradition of Marshall being to test everything to death.

28. Holt Except in the software, but they want it fixed. You see JSC always assumes that the software is gong to fluid and Marshall wants it fixed and they want it deliverable and they want to test their configuration and get it out. That's what you buy. Marshall tends to focus only in [346?] and JSC tends to focus on the idea.

29. Dunar That's interesting.

30. Holt Yes, so when you get into the business, Marshall is the manager of the ICD's in this program and JSC is the manager of the architecture. What's the idea of how the Space Station ought to go? Well it's how the systems work. What's the hard reality of you how put it together? It's what bolts to what. I've kind of been, this office has been kind of interesting in that regard because the ICDs where the nodes were they are in the program. Boeing builds the nodes delivers it to JSC but we're responsible for the interfaces and interface definition. In my office, almost all the interfaces, we do almost all the ICDs for the whole program, but I'm doing them for Denny Cross over in Huntsville and Jim Bean, and back to Dick Thorston, who is resident here.

31. Dunar How do you work that out?

32. Holt Actually what we've done is we've gotten an interface working group, and we have had less problem working with those guys than working with the ACD guys locally.

33. Dunar Why?

34. Holt Because, it's a difference between what's concrete and what's theory. Then somewhere along the line, someone made a mistake of deciding that because a piece of a system like an MDM or a CMG or firebox or whatever was part of the "system" and then those interface definitions ought to be part of the ACDs. Quite frankly the guys down here don't care about that stuff, don't really care about it. We managed a bunch of that, and Dale Thomas manages the other piece for Work Package 1. Quite frankly I'd like to go mix it all into one soup and just have one organization managing all interfaces and if I were going to pick one it would be the guys in Huntsville rather than the guys here.

35. Dunar It would seem if you have a change in a ACD it would have a ripple-out effect?

36. Holt It does but since a lot of the element interfaces are like a bus hooking up not, if the box weighs so much and has this kind of bolt pattern then I go pick that and I go figure out how to go put it in a fit segment. The element then is a fit segment for example and it bolts on to something. That's the element level that Marshall manages. The system level JSC has the management for. But see that was another one of the splits. That was the Bill and Orr fix. I'll draw you a picture. If you go back to when at the end of Odom and Tanner, and in fact I'll be honest with

you I think that the day Jim Odom left was the day they cast the fate of the Space Station.

37. Dunar Can you elaborate on that?

38. Holt Yes, we had to start over again. You had finally a guy who had the perspective of how it ought to play together and how it would be engineered, and then he had Tanner as a hammer. Ray was the ultimate lightening rod. Heat never bothered Ray, and the only guy who could really control Ray was Odom. From the political side of Stophan and Mozer, then Mozer destroyed the requirements phase. When we did program requirements review what should of just been an opening the doors of Restin and building the square on a milestone turned into 7,000 discrepancy reports written against the basic requirements document. They had processed 7,000 changes to the program requirements.

39. Dunar This was done by Headquarters?

40. Holt Yes, that was the initial Restin fix. Instead of taking the Level B documentation which was about the right level, because it had been argued by all of us, they took it and processed 7,000 changes. Added detail that you couldn't believe. We turned around with our contract and were ordered to go blow that stuff into our requirements spec. We ended up incurring a \$40,000,000 claim from

McDonnell Douglas on a brand new contract just to process paper. We hadn't even put a design on the table. All that we had was a proposal. But, they knew how to get well, and Boeing did the same thing to the guys in Huntsville. When Lenore came in after Odom, Restin, the SC&I was not working well at Restin. The SC&I never reported to the Program Manager at that time. When Truly took over as administrator, he crushed the Agency back together where Lenore on the Station and the Shuttle. (He's drawing) STS over here and SS over here. Well that put it all back in Code M. I don't know whether you guys have gotten into that but Code M is the institutional mother of Space Station of JSC and Marshall and Kennedy. The [441?] are bought and paid for by the Code Ms. So all our programmatic dollars and all our base of facilities of support is based back through that Headquarters code. Andy Stophan had operated it as a separate organization and had run Station so in effect he was having to buy matrix effort out of Code M out of Truly. It wasn't working worth a damn. Didn't work good for Culberton, didn't work good for these guys. What Truly did was shove two programs together and now the whole engineering base of JSC and Marshall and whatever slice of Lewis you needed was back as one entity. You put the Center Directors in the chain in effect that says "I won't tolerate Jack Lee and Thorn not paying attention to what's going on." Now, we're back to the split it apart again. That's been the real argument that we had, and that's been a

destablizer. This thing (drawing) stabilized this critical relationship.

41. Dunar It was necessary what Truly did in terms of bring together what would have just . . . ?

42. Holt Yes, it was ready to float. It wasn't going to work. At that time, that's when we moved from the sticks and balls assembly approach to the preintegrated truss. You couldn't have done that without the STS involved. You had to get a commitment for the Shuttle to know what you're flying, when you're flying it, and how you put it together. So in this case we took a lot of the things like we threw out the EVAs that we were going to develop with Station money that went to Shuttle. So we started looking at lapsing a lot of things back to what we already had incoordinated, and that was Lenore who was able to go force that because he had both sides of the program.

43. Dunar Was part of the motive behind that then was to preserve costs protection I suppose?

44. Holt Yes.

45. Dunar In other words, you could shift things to the Shuttle program.

46. Holt Of course the risk on that is that you've got guys like Gus Ferrel at Lockheed that spends a lot of money developing a bid hoping to get an EVA and now you just took away from him for buying Shuttle. Then you tick off the industry phase. Any time you use something with an awful lot of money [482?]. But here's kind of what had happened as to how we ended up with two camps. It was all trying to be run out of Restin. We had about 50 civil servants here, one of the larger organizations. There are only about 200 civil servants at Restin. I think it peaked out at around 250. There were 450 SC&I contractors, and it was absolutely not happening. So they dropped down a notch and brought in Thorston and they integration field center operations at JSC, Marshall, and Lewis. Lewis was kind of a throw down to get them to salute, but this effort here was about 500. The plan was, JSC and Marshall got together and split the baby. Literally. We've got the charts that says this goes to you this goes to us. It got down to the things that systems are ours so therefore, that type of thing. (starts drawing again) This was then a split of some seat, drawing contractors, and in our case my guy on a different contractual arrangement, and the same thing here you see with Boeing. Over here was a seat for Lockheed or Rocketdyne. So they set up, this was supposed to provide horizontal integration to the program, and this was supposed to go away only it didn't. So we added 500 [514?].

47. Dunar At the centers?

48. Holt At the centers regularly reporting and not building hardware just to do systems integration. Nothing went away. In fact if anything, that a man went up more and more to feed the monster and then on top of it we put in Burt Jackson up here to do Configuration Management, took this bunch from 50 to about 150 so we added another 100 [523?]. So when you start looking five years worth of this, since about '89 I guess, then there is a fair size chunk of change that's gone into this overhead. This right here, and a percentage of that finally started paying off but it took four or five years to get it to where it had some capability. This was Lenore's cut here that says I'll give Elements to Jim Bean and I'll give Systems to Carroll Dawson down here and that was the split between the two centers. This was the architecture of the ACD management. This was the ICD manager kind of thing over here called the BCD which is Baseline Control Document which is nothing more than the top level [541?]. But that is, so hard products here and systems over here. We had ended up in the middle of every argument because the node tends to take APM or Jim or the lab or the hab on this side wherever it happens to connect all the interfaces back to the truss and the truss has all this interfaces to hold transport the Canadian Arm. We had become conduit for all arguments with the international. In effect work phase 2 had all the systems responsibilities and

all the interface responsibilities since I got a lot of this dealt with by Marshall back to us here to be the prime contractor and literally we took the beating that prime contractor would normally be. And it's "What do you mean you can't deliver on time" and "What do you mean you've an 18% override." It's that kind of perspective that you get into and the fact of the matter is that the work values pretty much commiserate with each other. Tremendous amount of cooperation between George Hopson's office and ours in terms of settling differences on the element on the interfaces. We ran bilateral agreements on all of them and piled them up like crazy and they issued technical direction and contract direction and [576?] and most of the swaps we made with George cost us. We were on the losing end in damn near all of them because we had schedule pressure and he didn't. We were on the losing end with Lewis strictly because there was pretty much a perspective at JSC that Lewis is incompetent, and they've not done manned operations. Incompetence is probably too strong a word, but with their inexperience and with Rocketdyne's inexperience in the power system, both Marshall and JSC have been just scared to death that they wouldn't [590?]. So if there's one thing we all agree is that introducing major new element to the new program, those guys, it's taken them a while and we've been very very concerned about them missing a step here and there.

49. Dunar Just without the experience?

50. Holt Yes, and you don't have a good practiced argument those guys in Cleveland!

51. Dunar You had one for Huntsville for years?!

52. Holt Yes, and I used to explain this to John Erwin this way. He'd talk about "Well I need to get to George and I need to do this." I'd say, "Well I talked to Jack Bulman and he said 'Well I'd kind to know what you guys are going to talk to George about because John tends to go into the meetings a whole lot better prepared than George does and we'd kind of like to have the opportunity to talk to him before you get to.'" You see there was always this behind the scenes of let's make damn sure because they were nervous that George would get in there and get committed to something that he didn't understand because he was afraid John was going to take him! We always had that going on, and John would always take about getting it from George and I'd say, "Now John you've got to understand. George is not Chief Engineer and Project Manager. George doesn't do business the same way you do." We'd talk for a while, and I finally explained it to him one day. I said, "Those ol' boys in Northern Alabama have been dealing with carpetbaggers for over a hundred years!" [turn tape over 622]

53. Dunar . . . this operation. I talked to Carl yesterday afternoon and he talked a good bit about the relationship of Crystal City and about the reevaluation and where does that really leave the centers both Johnson and Marshall in terms of what they can do right now?

54. Holt It's probably at the most frustrating. What it is is the program is spending about 3 million dollars a day on the prime contracts and all the contracted effort in the program. We're not under any authorization to stop the work.

55. Dunar That's one and then the contractor has to . . . ?

56. Holt Yes. The contractor's getting paid and there's awards fees riding on it. So the evaluation criteria are still out there to be met so when you know that you're going to get paid on that, you have to work on it. Point of fact though, we have put the contractors under severe limitations. We were told to knock down all the overtime some time ago. Golden directed that we to kill all the overtime. The net effect of that in a design contractor especially McDonnell Douglas and I also think Rocketdyne and probably to a lesser extent Boeing just because of the schedule. McDonnell Douglas had an awful lot of, the truss design is a very complicated design. It looks like it's

fairly standard and regular and everything but the beams in there are actually tailored to carry loads to be able to get out weight. So you have an optimized design and it's kind of grown from a standpoint of we want this box at that location and it's going to weight about this based on the estimates we've gotten and some of these estimates are matured and some of them are not. Then you take the structural margins and you go design secondary structure around that, route all the wires where you want them pinned and that whole business. By the time you're through with that and you've got every single device in there and then you've gone through and figured out what the stresses are for launch, what would you do, can it survive a landing in a shuttle. So you have all the design considerations as well as the considerations on orbit. The thermal stresses and strains for thirty years so the life cycle of the program. That's an extremely labor intensive design. You use KTM systems so making the changes to the KTM system are fairly good, easy. Being able to look at the design, picture the design in 3-D, be able to skin the onion, you know peel back the layers of design, the ked systems are incredibly good but at the same time they still require the analysis to have occurred to be able to say that this beam this big goes there and these kind of dimensions. So the Ked system really eliminates a lot of the painstaking draftsmen's errors because it has automatic scaling and it has automatic notes and it prompts and it won't let you do certain things.

It really eliminates a step to the draftsman and back to the draftsman and back to the draftsman, that type thing. Now it's to the checkers and the checkers say, "We don't do that to McDonnell Douglas or Rocketdyne or Boeing. You will go back and or prove to me that that works." It's that type of thing now. It's the same management check that has already been in existence. But the skill level of the guys who operated the machines are engineers in almost all cases and there's a good young population. The average age on those, you know the whole space program has fallen into a two hump curve. The old guys and the new guys. Well the new guys are running the machines. The new guys have young families, and the new guys are surfers from California, and they are working. A lot of them were contract hires, and the were working a lot of overtime to get this thing out, and they were getting paid the overtime at their grade levels and all that. That then allowed them to take a \$40,000 salary and bump it to \$70,000. I mean they were making some money. Some of these guys were working 80 hour weeks. 60 hour weeks were about the norm. When you go to a no-overtime policy, and literally and not only that we had the inspector general monitoring and spot checking and that's criminal penalties can be imposed if you find out. We had been only able to go in and for our CDR packages to meet those commitments we were allowed 130,000 hours of overtime for example. So we've been able to on the spot, very very spot things. It got down to the point of having to ask for

\$22,000 to support a test over here. We had to have the administrator's approval for \$22,000 dollars in a \$15,000,000,000 so the frustration level is extremely high. I think that's probably, it's obvious that they want to slow roll the baseline program and let the new program catch up. They've introduced, we know right now with the budget targets that it will take another year. We're a year out from what we're looking on.

57. Dunar Does it at this point look like you will be able to mesh the baseline program with the redesign?

58. Holt Yes to a great degree. What happens though, when you start taking out fit segments and repackaging a lot of gear, then the idea of taking up the laboratory first and then attaching it before you attach the node, you end up with, all the low pads changes back into the primary structure on the truss. The guys that are doing most of this redesign they were trying to save the money for integrating the node because this is the difference between because most of that is Marshall dollars, it's \$30,000,000 to preintegrated this node and put all his hardware in there so therefore if we just did that in a lab and launched a lab first, we could save \$30,000,000 on node integration. But we're going to send a \$100,000,000 relaying out the truss. But it's the kind of thing where the guys that don't do that for a living make the assumption that they see the computer

programs and they say well all you have to do is tell the computer I want to move it over here

59. Dunar And it looks good on paper!

60. Holt Yes, and it looks good on paper! It's the kind of thing that says, well it's just like stacking a [697?] I mean all you do is just move all the boxes in there. The answer is [699?] have to get the heavy stuff on the back. That is really something that is not in anybody's experience base so everybody is operating right outside their experience base in terms that the real difference is the fact that it comes together in stages. Nobody had ever done a development program to where you didn't at least have an end item. When we went away from this stick and ball approach and the truss members and everybody, the sales pitch on that back when it was being done originally was that was done because you knew it was cheaper than not do all the ground systems verification of having preintegrated all the truss work but they were still thinking about the big truss whether it would look a lot like that versus just putting it all together on orbit and then assuming it was going to work. So the answer to that came back, and this was back in '85-'86 time frame, says, yes there isn't any additional overhead and penalty to hook them up that way. We examined that after we had finally decided that the risk of putting it together was that you could not stand the

interruptibility there that you couldn't guarantee that at any point in time you could stop, disconnect, and bring the Shuttle home in case of an emergency. That was the thing, and you couldn't predict the number of flights very well. In fact what you were having to do was you were having to work on just how much the mass the orbiter would carry to orbit. It was very difficult to then get back to a thing that says we'll have to have this, this, and this there at this time, these functions have to be accurate. Now, how do I package all that and then anything that didn't fit it was "Oh damn, now I've got to start all over again." It's the difference between doing a custom build on a lot and hauling out some double wides and sticking them together, adding on a porch and a few of those things. Literally, it is that way. It's hard to go do a custom build because you've got to figure out where you're going to start. The architecture job was tough, I mean really tough. We knew what we wanted it to look like at the end. We knew what we wanted it to look like at a couple of stopping points, but you couldn't get the first two or three steps to look pretty. Really, we were struggling like hell with what function now do we have and the fact that we were coming together single string. Any single failure could really put you in a bind and if the orbiter left, we weren't sure how we'd go back and complete it. So we were starting to run the risk on the numbers of launches getting out of hand. That was always a concern that the agency had that says "hey, if you can't nail down

the number of launches, it's tough for me to believe that this thing is coming together." We were under some fairly stringent commitments from Congress that said you have to be operational on the sixth launch. Well, Congress ought to tell you that you have to be operational on a launch in that kind of thing but what it forced out quite frankly is the thing that says this design won't support that milestone. I mean that was the real requirement that was coming out of the Congressional staff and it was. I mean they were hardnosed about it and they were pushing for utilization. They didn't want everybody to fall in love with building it.

61. Dunar The relationship between the agency and the Congressional committees, is it close enough that the people in the committees understand what all these imperatives are?

62. Holt Oh yes. Well in that case of restructure, if you take a look, we actually took, Dick Mallow and Kevin Kelly's guidelines and went right down the list that says you can't spend more than \$2 billion dollars a year, or \$2.1, and you have to be there on flight early utilization, and we'd like that as early as possible. We had a lot of push, Bill Orr wanted us to be up there on five, the fifth flight, and we convinced him that there was just too much risk and the best solution was flight seven, but you could make flight six. He went with six and he had to be convinced. I mean it was

a fairly raucous meeting. I mean it was down to the thing that says "you bastards are sand-bagging me." They trotted out all the detail and analysis that we had and convinced him finally that OK. Our big concern at that time was that if we did that, and I don't know how they were getting around this option, but if you put up the lab up first in that scenario, then you cut down some margin. The one thing about having a node is you can attach on different sides. If you put the lab there, you've got one port that works now and things have to come around that one port. There you're back to a question of do you build to an end item? Do you build with some flexibility in there? This was JSC design capability.

63. Dunar Now there was a cutback in the number of nodes as I understand.

64. Holt Yes, it cut the whole module pattern back. The module pattern, the labs and the habs were chopped back from full length of the bay, 40 or whatever feet, cut back to about 27.5, so it chopped them in half. Then you went to a Lab A, Hab A, and Lab B and Hab B and you're going to have two more nodes so you would have had a module pattern. That literally was, they were not funded. I mean we kept them in the contracts but there wasn't any money put against them and they were delivered post-the year 2000. Literally, what they were there for was to preserve an option for the

contractor so I didn't have to go recompetete. Then Marshall did the same thing with Boeing. They never had money against them in any of the submits that we did, and they were uncostly but they preserved contractors. What you were trying to preserve in the original design was a racetrack pattern with the station and this would work out over time. The original, if you wanted a node, here's the way we had it set up. (he's drawing) You had the international partners, [778?] and then you had a node. What you were trying to do, this is a lab and this was hab, in a racetrack pattern says that any time I get in trouble, I can close these two hatches. I'm isolated. So if I lost pressure here, then if that hatch won't seal when I try to close these two hatches, if they won't seal then I'm on the wrong side cause they're pressure assisted. So if I call roll in the hab, try to close this hatch and the hatch pops off the seal everybody get on the other side, and we'll close it from that side. Now we're safe. It's that type of deal and that was something we working out early on, did a set of contingency optionarios between ourselves and Marshall and the [790?] guys and came up with about 13 conditions that we ought to protect for one side or the other. Then you ought to have enough provisions in here to where you have water and enough time. You always worry about the fact that if you have the shuttle here and you were one the wrong side, you know you had to go do something so you had an airlock so you could go back around if you had to. Or you had and A-serve. You had

so much equipment that you just, everybody had something for every situation and then over time it's gotten down to a thing that says well you just won't have all that. It's nice but So when we got around to restructure we went from this approach down to a node here, (drawing again) lab that hung off the truss, and hab and then put international partners on this side. Then we were going to run lab and hab A and B with two nodes in there and then run hab and lab A and B off this end. That was the growth station there. This was not contracted. It was in the contract but it was never funded.

65. Dunar Does that still preserve the safety?

66. Holt Yes, that gave you this.

67. Dunar I see.

68. Holt It ways when you get to PMC, if you want to go back and put you're racetrack in because you're always worried about getting hung up in one of these blind allies and you spend a lot of time and effort on what kind of [808?] compretion and those kinds of deals. In typical fashion we just beat the crap out of them. We've had the arguments and twenty thousand opinions and steeled them down to the good arguments and the good arguments with the Japanese and the Europeans are somewhat different. The

Europeans have always, are extremely pragmatic for one thing. They no longer feel like they're a little brother. They're full partners and they considered, and they're just as arrogant as we are. The Japanese are literally just kind of taking notes. They've got good engineering talent. They really do. Mitsubishi has a fine team, and they're kind of slim, but they kind of watch to see what kind of deals we cut with the Europeans and do a few "me toos" on those and the one where they really don't like them they'll drag their feet until hell freezes over and make you work. That's been kind of interesting. The laboratory, the elements most of that negotiations, the systems negotiations with the Europeans and the Japanese and the Canadians were pretty much done from here with the exception with some of the standards on racks and how they were to be mounted. Those were all done through Marshall because Marshall, they are the rack, how racks ought to look in the program and what accommodations get made over in the European and Japanese racks for interchangeability between the US and the European and Japanese cure. Those activities have been run through by George Hopson's office. Every so often we run afoul of them because they get off and cut some deals on DMS segments and then "George, I don't think we can make that one. Not exactly what we had in mind."

69. Dunar I'm wondering about the redesign too with the Europeans and the Japanese how they, I'm sure they're angry, but how they're reacted in terms of

70. Holt Oh they're totally ticked. I think it's more than, they've dumped a bunch of bucks in this thing. They all have funding pressures. A lot of their's is posture, but they've all got the same funding pressure we do. In fact, the Europeans are working a 25% cut on their program. They were sailing along, the same thing happened to them as happened to us. When the wall came down, the Europeans, the Germans who were 38% of the program, all of a sudden had to bail out East Germany, and space isn't a real big ticket over there right now. The year the Germans start pulling out the French are not going to fund the whole thing and as I said, the Italians can't. So they're now into a fairly large cut. Every time we give schedule relief, they sigh. They're happy to see it. Although the guys working on it don't like it, but in terms of the governments over there, I don't think their governments are really that upset about it. What they don't like is they don't like to see us work with the Russians. Official statements that they've made are things that say that, "we've got a partnership as far as the station freedom program. We want to be in the room when you guys are doing all the deals with the Russians," and that's not happening. The merger of the programs, the US is off working its deals with the Russians, and they're fearing

that they're going to be cut out or have to go scramble around for pieces. The Japanese I think have been, you know you pick up all kinds of rumor, but I think the Japanese have been having extensive lobbying activities to try to lobby the administration to get something going on a basement program. There is a lot of high level politics going on in this thing. This thing was born in politics and it's going to play its thing out on that stage. When you go back to the dual keel station with all its accommodations and everything, there was something there for everybody and literally there was no way, you couldn't have afforded it and you probably couldn't have put it all together. It was the camel built by committee, the horse built by committee. As it's just been cut back little piece by little piece down to something that can be afforded, what's happened is we've taken chunks out of the development program, but we've left the middle round programmatic and not cut down the dimensions of the size of the program. We've left an awful lot of people laying around on this thing. We've gotten it down now to where the program itself is not big enough literally to support the numbers of people who want to manage it. In this conversation we just had there, we're slow rolling everything in order to support the design activities out at Crystal City to make sure that we're not being irresponsible on contract management period. Very clearly then the impetus on making the change and we've done that before. We've had people who worked the baseline

program right up to the point in time when the contract direction came down and says this is the program, move out. When we went out of the preintegrated truss activity that we've done out here, we had a lot of things that we had to go sort out. We had done a good job working with Rocketdyne, McDonnell Douglas, Boeing. So Marshall and Lewis were involved. We had the NASA centers pretty well wired together. What we didn't have was the international partners absolutely did not participate. I spent the next year hammering out agreements with the Canadians. We spent a lot of time hammering out, Cathy Cramer who was one of my office managers here, hammered out a lot of the node agreements between Marshall and the international partners at JSC because we were trying to screw together the international interfaces so we made a lot of changes. Not as significant, but they were starting to threaten our schedule. We needed them to make sure we had the node nailed down.

71. Dunar Now the design that you have here does not incorporate any roll for the Russians.

72. Holt No, not really. Other than the Soyuz for the ACRV and the Docking System.

73. Dunar So that's the provision you've made essentially?

74. Holt Yes, in the baseline program. Where we're headed, the docking systems that the Russians used are the same ones that we used in ASTV. That was a JSC design. The only difference is they had gotten 15 years worth of use out of that thing now, 17 actually. So they've gotten 17 years worth of operational experience in small improvements they've made in the system. That was one of the things Truly negotiated with them before he left was to buy one of the systems back from them, so that was kind of the opening of the doors back in that time frame. A lot of the concepts that have been around, we started seeing concepts back when we did a set of blue-teams, red-teams last summer. I don't know if anybody has talked to you about that or not.

75. Dunar No.

76. Holt When Golden came in, he instituted a blue-team, red-team. Blue-team being the existing program, what can you do to meet cost targets and change your design and a red-team that was supposed to be a non-advocate team that would have gone in and taken you apart. It didn't quite work the way it does in industry. In industry, non-advocate teams really come in and do take you apart on a proposal. The red-team, blue-team kind of went back to Golden handing [927?] with a thing that says this is the right program. While we were up at Restin going through the blue-team, I was the project blue-team rep, we saw an awful lot of things

that looked kind of flaky. Kind of like the Space Station Freedom with a mirror shoved up its rear end. That type of thing. Then it's kind of like "Well that's interesting, but how in the hell would you ever do that." That was the first exposure that most of us had to a thing that says the Russians are coming. All of a sudden we're talking about what kind of inclinations can we get to.

77. Dunar That inclination is coming strictly from Washington?

78. Holt Yes. The inclination started with a thing that says how do you use Russians assets. Performance losses on the Shuttle are dramatic to get to 51-6 and glues around 12.5 thousand pounds at launch. That's about 30% of capacity of the launch mass that you can have of your launch up weight. In terms of the design that we have, we can't launch anything without completely repackaging the whole deal to that latitude, inclination. So we look at compromises and it turns out that the crossover points are around 33 or whatever for the shuttle and the [946?]. So that's why you hear, Aviation Week had a pretty good article last version on the different inclinations and different traits and that's kind of what they're all about. There had been a lot of, every time we get into a thing that says you could launch what you've gotten on a launch vehicle, well we design this thing to take the loads in the shuttle, to take

the loads in the trunnions at different places and to handle landing loads as well. The launch environment on the Russian vehicle is not known that well but what we do know of it is it's a much harsher environment than what we're designed to. Shuttle actually is a pretty benign launch environment if the max you pull any time is 3 Gs. It's pretty easy on the crew and equipment. Most unmanned vehicles have higher accelerations, considerably. So we couldn't take what we've got and stick it on there and launch it this way without a significant amount of redesign. Every time you start out, it says the baseline program doesn't fit well with trying to fly at higher inclinations. Higher inclinations has a lot of benefit. If you'll go look, we flew Skylab in 57, originally it was 57, and then the bottom line on the positive benefit of 57 was really just the amount of Earth you fly over. You fly over that much more of the planet and you get into the higher parts of the atmosphere. We added some packages late in the program, in fact the last two years to do are resources are looking at spectrometers and so forth. [interruption and joke about contractors trying to tell him how not ready they are] It's easy to look at the thing and say there are a lot of reasons to fly a different space station. It's hard to look at it from a standpoint of when you get this close to that design and you've been to CDR and you know that you're getting ready to build it and you suspect that you're getting ready to put an awful lot of US industry workers out of work and

to pay those jobs and to keep the Russians going, it's tough to buy in to that. The national agenda is usually something that they don't ask you to comment on, work for the civil servants. You just have to work on what they tell you to work on. That's the bottom line. It's not any easier for the guys in Huntsville than it is for the guys at JSC. There's an awful lot of guys over there working the baseline program who are just as nervous about what Charlie Darwin's guys came up with. Charlie runs a proposal factory and he'd self-contained and quite frankly he's the best proposal factory in the agency. There's no question about it in terms of being able to respond quickly with a credible proposal that's something that you could do and bound to cost, bound in engineering perimeters, they've got the best capabilities in the Agency. They'll do them on any scale. The risk to that is that when you scribe the same level of material to a study that you do to a design, then you have really and that's been I think the thing that has been the hardest for most of us to accept that the design was impounded along the way somewhat needlessly quite frankly. The business that we're limping through CDR, we are not limping through CDR. McDonnell Douglas is sandadizing the bulkhead for the first one and got lay-out drawings out the ears. When you take a look at the total number of drawings required for use for that thing all out through PNC, there's a ton of stuff when you look at what's got to be there for CER and smaller fractions. We had an Air Force team as part

they're not intending to go off and add to the SCS compliment to a great degree with this program. In fact they're going to bust it back and get it back to a normal alignment. Restin was way over integrated than any place else where SCS is at levels that with any other program or any other center are just not the same. There were some 20 odd SCS in the program which is very high when compared to, it's probably equivalent to Shuttle. Shuttle is a monstrous program over three centers and headquarters. The way they went about staffing Restin is they ended up with an inexperienced staff. They had the grade and they all got promotions for going up there and I know that at JSC it led the Level B organization, there were 40 people that left and the average, if you just assume that the average years when they got out because they all took early outs was 25 years, you just dumped 1000 man years out of a program and you replaced it with guys at the 10 or 15 year point. You gave them the rank but they didn't have the experience and you didn't have a team. I mean you had to bring people up from Marshall and you got some in from JSC and you got a few down from Langley so all of a sudden you had a multi-cultural experience going on and you've got guys out of the Air Force and you've got them out of a Navy. It takes time to blend a team like that. Then we had Program Directors and Program Managers turn it over so until we finished restructure and Moorehead, for all his, in terms of let's just say Bob's ego could usually fill a room, but we knew that when they named

Moorehead that one thing that would happen was that Restin would either succeed or fail. There couldn't be a middle ground and most of us that had worked with Bob knew that that was going to be the case and that's been the case. He rode it to the last gasp and it didn't make, but it had its best chance of working with Moorehead.

81. Dunar Did it have a lot of things against it from the beginning?

82. Holt Yes, if Tanner and Odom had of stayed I think it would have worked because you had the guy who, Tanner was a hammer. Ray was really hardnosed. He'd been chief engineer on Spacelab. He knew what he was doing and we knew he knew he was doing. We knew where the arguments were going to be and we knew where the lines were going to be drawn. You couldn't waltz a story up there. You had to have something that focused the issues, you had to recognize the issues. The Agency has never allowed shallow stories like that. Marshall doesn't and JSC doesn't. If you can't put a real story on it, hell they'll throw you out of the meeting and be unceremonious about throwing you out. It's always been a tough competitive environment for the best technical solution and the best technical solution sometimes is costly. It's not like Apollo. Apollo, if you talk to Bob [137?] and guys that worked back in the command module days and those times, to a great degree faced with a thing that

says we've got three technologies because Apollo was kind of operating from the seat of the pants, and we're not sure which ones are go. This is the one where we think is the right answer. The Program had enough money to carry all three options and make a decision downstream that says bring me some test results. Well, we're doing a ton of analysis and a lot less testing so you tend to be conservative when you do analysis and you can't destruction test something and say we'll I know where it breaks and I'm not worried about that any more. That same time problem with the Shuttle. We'd done an awful lot of bialysis there as well. Analysis techniques are excellent and people have gotten extremely smart and we've run a lot of cray. We have had at one time seven crays working on that truss design out there. We had to go, we bought time at University of San Diego. We bought time in corporate resets and assets. Anybody that has a cray around, everybody was trying to find the time because the programs, these big stressed and strained program are monsters. So there's a level of sophistication on the analysis that's behind the design is really transparent to all those that aren't working on the design itself. The numbers and cycles for 30 years, well that says, "If you want to get an answer in a hurry, you better run it. You better get you something big." The other side of it is that the technology naturally likes to creep. They guy that says "I built a great big program, I want a big answer, I want a cray." And cray time is expensive and the

guys who know how to put it on crays and can interpret the results get paid pretty well. So you don't have too many \$15.00 an hour draftsmen working on this program anywhere. Of course, God any government program the loaded rate is two times what the hourly rate is so you are automatically paying prime providing the base capability for the primes. You're loaded in favor of spending a lot of money. You cut back, if you take something out of the design you don't save much. You save a few hours of labor, but until you get into the base of a contract you don't save much money. People really don't understand that. Until you take off the numbers of bodies working on something and reduce the amount of taxes that you're paying whether its to a base corporation or to a center, then you just don't save any money. And the government works the same way. If they're 850 people working on the space station at JSC then the program is taxed for some percentage of the salary and the support at JSC to back those up. So you are always struggling to, I mean you want to dig as much money as you can out of the program's pocket, and then you struggle like hell to get the amount of hours back on your engineering organization. Then that's where you get into, what I think from that standpoint it is easier for Marshall to make the, to do this than it is for JSC, the chief engineer on. I mean when he picks up the phone and calls, he's got a hammer. I can walk into the next door office to the lab

director at the S&E labs and say "I am not getting support from him."

83. Dunar Probably too is there's, it would be a lot easier you mentioned in developing software, I can see that there would be an awful lot of potential for growth there more so than developing hardware because you can define the hardware and there's not too much [230?] to do there, but in software it could . . .

84. Holt Oh yes it grows like crazy. You know it's going to grow. Right now the biggest single argument left in the design is over the data management system. It's over the level of testing, and it's over how flexible the software is, how much of it is in E prompts, what your imbedded data processors that it's burned in versus how much you can actually make it do something.

85. Dunar Is there still a debate going on . . . ?

86. Holt Yes, even [end stop tape] [change to part 2] I think in the data management system, it's an extremely strained relationship right now between JSC and Marshall because the date management system has been the JSC deliverable and one of our systems that we designed and delivered. Right now, the simplified approach that came back for option A is a proposal that has been rejected some

time ago but that Marshall has continued to champion. Right now in the transition negotiations, JSC has looked at votes and has really been very very, our guys don't like and it's gone back with all the reasons why they don't like it. Now we're expecting then, in the redesign and transition team activities, to have that activity sent back down here for evaluation and have Marshall come over and have meetings. The way it worked out is our guys went over there. It literally is down to the point in time to where the transition team feels that JSC will not take this approach seriously unless it is done on Marshall turf.

87. Dunar Really?

M: Yes, it's pretty straight forward that way. There's a lot of dynamics like that goes on. You've got to remember it's not like the Air Force where people move every two years. I mean we grew up with guys, and we work with them and argue with them over the years so we know where they're coming from. We've hammered out requirements all the way back to the mid-80s here for ten years over how you ought to do it, and they've never liked our approach, the JSC approach. There are parts of it that I personally don't like. It carries some risk.

88. Dunar There's enough difference between two that they're just irreconcilable then.

89. Holt Yes. Irreconcilable. It is down to the thing that says either you go all the way with one of them or the other. We're into that. I mean you really get down to the real high stakes poker game now.

90. Dunar Well I can see especially with data management because that was probably more than any other system this is more intrusive because the interface is so tight.

91. Holt Well, the whole system is operated by computers. Your switch is on the space station. This whole thing is not operated like anything we've ever done before. In the shuttle we used a computer to operate the flight critical functions, guidance, navigation, control, and displays. If you want to turn on an APU, there's a switch and some meters. We don't have that. In fact we've even argued over emergency stop switches for the mole transporter carrying the arm down the track and had some real knock down drag outs. The crew in the astronaut office has always demanded design changes and has always argued vociferously as part of the design team. I think probably the one thing, you can't ignore the operator, and in NASA it's always been pretty much something that says you have to satisfy the crew and they have to have their day in court.

92. Dunar That's been one of the main arguments all the way back to Apollo between JSC and Marshall and accusations that Marshall was ignoring

93. Holt Yes, there's been some real knock down drag outs. Even, well even Shuttle C. I worked on the evaluation of Shuttle C, and Marshall had some state contracts. It was very obvious that Marshall wanted all of Shuttle C without any, they didn't want to mess around with anything JSC. What they had done was they had assumed that they would use different computers than was in the shuttle.

94. Dunar As a way to shut out JSC?

95. Holt Yes as a way to keep JSC out of it. The only thing that kept getting back in their ear, was they kept getting it from KSC that says "we have to redesign the launch processing system. Here's our cost." Well they didn't want to hear that. Well then here's the OPS guys at JSC with control centers and things like that and here's the cost per trainers and all the other things and such. Unfortunately I think on things like Shuttle C we had to compete them as new starts. We made some errors. Marshall came down with the Shuttle C, and they came back and they had a launch vehicle. Truly sent them down to JSC to get an OPS concept and when it came back out of here, it had the OMV stuck in the nose of it, Orbiting Maneuvering Vehicle.

Now TRW contract was in trouble, and Marshall was overrunning the hell out of this contract so they were trying to tie it to anything. The problem is when you take two vehicles, you didn't need it was number one. All you really need to do on Shuttle C was remove the crew cabin and then use the control system since the jets are in the nose and the jets are back here. Well when they took out the crew cabin out and put this guy in, all of a sudden you've created an integration nightmare. Now you've got a control system, and they wanted to be able to fly this up and dock it to the Space Station. Great OPS concept. Very expensive OPS concept. So it just blew this whole thing out of the water. Had you gone in and incrementally just said "this is just kind of an enhancement program and we want to just see what we can do." For a small amount of money you probably could have gone off and just continued to build and got you one and not done a crew cabin and just build a shell of an orbitor. Taking anything apart and modifying, pulling an TRW OMV which was poorly defined and adding it to an S, all you were doing there was you were just inviting yourself to contract disaster. We were getting ready to make another mess out of this thing. All JSC/Marshall collaborations don't mean success stories. In my opinion on that one, the combination of the administrator wanting to make sure that he had something that was going to work, and I guess at the time Dick was AA for OSF when he first started all that, and it just finally, he couldn't support it for a new start.

New starts are tough. You go back in the very early days of Station back in the 70s, Marshall wanted to creep up on it. They wanted the power extension pallet.

96. Dunar [?083]

97. Holt Yes and it always has been. The bottom line is Marshall is extremely pragmatic. They always have been. JSC has always probably lived on the Apollo euphoria and Shuttle. We got away with the overruns on Shuttle and people liked the vehicle, and Marshall having undergone the death sentence over there and surviving is down to a thing that says don't push it. Go what you can. Do it with as little fanfare as possible, and just make continuous improvements. I would really say that that is a marked contrast. If there's anything that really contrasted the space station development ideas of Marshall and JSC is the last guy that showed the great big grandiose space station out at Marshall was Von Braun. I've got the 1957 Life Magazine that shows Von Braun holding the space station with the big circular wheel that was going to rotate with the artificial gravity. That's probably true.

98. Dunar That's a good way of looking at it. That makes a lot of sense.

99. Holt Kraft was into solar powered satellites and space operations centers. The dual keel, what came out of skunk works really is that idea that says we want to go out with the biggest thrust we can get. JSC has always been expansive in terms of [103?] to the national agenda and build it into an empire, and Marshall I think has always been hesitant and says that's not realistic.

100. Dunar One of the really interesting periods, I've been working on this developing of Space Station thing, in '69 and '70 when they were debating between Shuttle and Station. At that time even when it looked like funding was going to be a little short and when it was looking more and more like they were going to have to make a choice between them, they were still talking about a fifty to a hundred manned space base. So this idea of this grandiose program even when the funding constraints were clearly going to be a problem.

101. Holt We had a division down here. We had a division at JSC that was working on Space Station. Max Faget had a division. Probably had 60 people. Maybe 40 or 60 something like that. That was a lot of people back in those days. Marshall was doing concepts and studies with contracts in the early 60s.

102. Dunar Could you, I don't know if you can really do this, but in laymen's terms tell me the difference between

the data management approach that Johnson has and Marshall has on station?

103. Holt The real difference is, the data management system, just let me kind of draw you a little picture. Maybe that will help. The data management system is a question is how computers are in this system versus data processors. How much central processing you do versus how much you do in distributive processing. It's that simple. In its simplest form, you've got a data processor which is a computer, it's an IBM something or other, actually its a 386 chip. That then interfaces to a set of MDMs built by Honeywell. MDMs are somewhat, we're getting sophisticated now. They've got cards, and they've got actual memory in the MDMs, and they take a load. Then they're processed out to the devices. (he's drawing again) These are cards and then those cards are communicated through devices and [?133] back to here. Then the question of how much do I allow at the device level with an imbedded data processor which is a chip. How smart is the device? So how much is the MDM just routing data back and the smarts are out here versus the smarts being either here or here.

104. Dunar So its distributed in other words means that you're farming more of the out to the elements?

105. Holt Right. If I'm in the Marshall approach, they want to take the computer out of this and just have a controller in the MDM up here because the MDM has computational power, but literally they want data routing and then they want it totally decentralized that says "OK the GNC systems over here doesn't really have to talk to contract system over here." In the JSC approach, we had our alpha joints, rotary joints, moving to track the sun and beta joints moving to move the radiators around to get an optimal mix on the temperature radiation as you flew over. Then we were doing computations, and there was a lot of cross communications and coordinations between the various systems. The Marshall approach is less of that and more of a "well, don't optimize." Does that sound right?

106. Dunar Yes, I know what you mean.

107. Holt Philosophically, "don't optimize" in Huntsville and "optimize" in JSC is probably another one of those fundamentals. Then here, I think the one thing that people are missing, and this is one of the things that separates JSC from Marshall in this approach is the idea that the Station comes together in stages. This kind of approach has trouble with that.

108. Dunar The JSC approach?

109. Holt No the Marshall approach because it's trying to set an end item approach, but where's the end item? It's find for a lab that all comes up here at once. It's tough for MV-1 which doesn't have CMGs on it and is a passive vehicle power system. The MV-2 which is where I finally get a computer outside and has attitude control, can reboost it by [?166], has control capabilities. The MV-3 now has the arm. The mass properties change that the control system has to compensate for all of that. The reboost would be different in all these considerations. So with having the computer then you have

110. Dunar That can all be taken into a data base . . . ?

111. Holt Yes, you have a data base as you channelize. This says I'll rechannelize every time, and I'm adding MDMs every time I do this.

112. Dunar So the Marshall approach, by the time you get to the third or forth fight and incorporate that you're first unit is almost obsolete?

113. Holt Right. It almost looks like the thing that says if I start from a buildup approach then this architecture has more flexibility in it and allows you to make change. If I start and look at it at the end item approach which is when the lab's hanging on here and the truss is already

built, then I tend to want to go and lock up more stuff. I think in this case you'll find out that for the assumptions that Marshall made, then their design is fine, but for the assumption that we made that says that you can't put it together that way very easily and accommodate all the changes you need to make, then that's how JSC has ended up with the approach it's had.

114. Dunar The JSC approach is probably more adaptable for political changes that are forced on the program too?

115. Holt Well I don't know about that. I don't anything can accommodate that! I don't think any computer can work on that! It doesn't make any difference whether Honeywell built it or IBM but it literally one of the real tough problems that we faced in shuttle that has not been a problem in Spacelab is the flight-to-flight reconfiguration and having the software then. Since software handles a lot processing for the payloads back in the bay, we do a tremendous amount of rechanneling back and forth. LSAT doesn't look like TDRS or Spacelab or whatever. The changes that you make on a flight-to-flight basis then, that amount of reconfiguration and testing that we do on the shuttle is something that Marshall doesn't have the experience base with Spacelab because the Spacelabs are tailored.

116. Dunar Spacelab, the data management still came from Shuttle right?

117. Holt Well it's got its own computers, but Shuttle is in interface to it and it is piped to the ground. There's only a few primaries that cross over into the Shuttle system and that's for safety monitoring. So it's an independent system, and they're butt-welded to each other. That's kind of what you've got. You've got a thing that says Spacelab worked this way. And the main engine controller works this way because it's roughly independent. It's processing like crazy to keep the engines running at the right mixture and all it cares from the computer is whether or not I'm still flying or not or whether I need to shut down. All of the Shuttle examples that Marshall draws on, they don't face the reconfiguration problem.

118. Dunar Only as much as their looking in Spacelab I suppose.

119. Holt But everyone of them is built unique. You don't fly. When they take the Spacelab down, they're flying them about one a year, so you take everything out

120. Dunar Which they do for the experiments anyway.

121. Holt Right, so you take all the experiments out and you put them all back in and then you tailor everything. You tailor the thermal system, the air distribution. You just have to rebuild them on a flight to flight basis.

122. Dunar So you might as well do it with a data management too.

123. Holt Right. With the Shuttle, then the data management system here is part of the five computers in the baseline so a lot of that data then flows into, you process some data then you also have the data that goes to the ground through the payload data systems.

124. Dunar Would it be accurate then to say that both Marshall and JSC . . . ?

125. Holt They're operating out of their experience base.

126. Dunar From Shuttle and Spacelab?

127. Holt Yes. Marshall takes its experience base off the main engine controller and Spacelab that says "hey, I just need access to the grounds systems so I can send this stuff down and I can control it fine." Change is not something that they see as an ongoing process. JSC is sitting over here with eight to ten flights in flow on the shuttle and

every one of them has a different compliment and so it's that type of, as an orbitor comes along, you reconfigure every orbitor to fly the flight. You can see that coming from here that carrying payloads up and down, changing and using an out and adding on major elements, has the thing that says I need to be able to reconfigure this guy. I'll need a lot of data on the front end and later on I want to collapse it down to where I'm not processing that much information on the crew monitor.

128. Dunar In a sense, I can see how you could make the argument either way.

129. Holt Yes, it depends on where you start. If you start with a thing that says this is the space station. It looks like this. It's this big when it's put together, then you're answer is what do you mean change track. If you start from a thing that says hey you've got to get there, you've got to put it together, you've got to look at the following things that are going to change. That's the nuts of the argument. In terms of the intitial data management system knowing that the assembly problem is out there, knowing that they thing is going to change over time and JSC had the system. It fit the JSC experience base. We probably, on the JSC side, we probably overshot on the thing. When you ended up with an unbroken chain of JSC avionics guys that run this program, Aldridge, Moorehead, I

think I read the list off to you yesterday, but what you ended up with then is now you have a culture that says not only do you have flexibility in a system, but you want to know every flight because if you change something and you don't understand what you changed, and it bites you, then you're ass is grass. You're in front page of the paper just like last night in the Post where a guy sent the wrong center a couple of commands up there and they were outside of the envelope what they were doing. They were doing some troubleshooting. Anytime you have a thing that says "I don't know what's in the onboard computer," that's a sin in the space business. Then I got a requirement for \$300,000,000 worth of ground testing called the CAFCSF, Central Facility. The first thing Ray Tanner did was he got on the programs. He x'd that then Moorehead then put it back. It is experienced based driven. We talked this with Ray Tanner back in 1989 and Ray glazed over. Literally just "flat didn't understand what you guys are talking about. What in the hell are you talking about. That's nuts! I'm not paying for that. Take it out. This program can't afford that." Bob Moorehead gets on and says, "How in the hell can I launch this thing without knowing what it's going to do? How can you go in and tell me on a flight to flight basis, I'm flying a safe vehicle without this level of testing. Put it back in!" If anything does give you the flavor of the Marshall/JSC it is literally that everybody is a prisoner of their history and it's been interesting.

130. Dunar That's an interesting case.

131. Holt Yes, if anything really gives you a capsule view of the station it's been the, because the structure guys I mean they can all get together and agree. They just finally have to see the day and they have to agree. We had a bunch of issues at our CDR on fiber acoustics and the Marshall specs, Boeing specs and the specs we had on Mc Dac are different interpretations of the program spec. Until we got to CER and we got three guys together to sit down and hammer out the thing. No there were four: two NASA, one Boeing, one Mc Dac. We all sat down and said "Well, yes, this that, this that, this that, this that, OK. We can handle this, you can handle that, and we'll go look at these." Then it's over with. Then all of a sudden thirty major issues collapsed at once, and it died the last week. The program sees this as a thing that says, "Oh it's these major issues." Literally the guys who work on it are down to a thing that says, "No, we got a culture and when we get to CER we'll sell it because the pressure will be there to have to get it down."

132. Dunar So that's pretty common then to have these arguments going on in the CER.

133. Holt Oh God yes. The program is always looking to find the data at the very lowest level because it never trusts anybody that's filtering. That is very much a JSC invention. I'll draw this for you because you won't see this at Marshall. The JSC invention says that you have engineering and you have the program office and you have the project office. Engineering is the customer. The project office is managing the contract down here (he's drawing). This is the customer right here. Then you have matrixed effort that goes off and interfaces with the contract and literally we expect these guys to interact with the contractor to a very great degree. Marshall probably does not interact at that level with as many people as we tend to throw at the contract. We tend to penetrate the contract.

134. Dunar Marshall I think attempts to do that as well.

135. Holt The contractors are probably a little more successful, well this may be a Mc Dac program because you couldn't penetrate Rockwell as well as you can Mc Dac. Mc Dac culturally tries to please you everywhere. Boeing is probably a little stronger business office flavor. Mc Dac is having to put it in. Corporately, Mc Dac is in big trouble. It really is a corporate culture that says we try hard to please. JSC has always done this. Marshall does the same thing. Now the difference is, if you take the shuttle program and any program unfortunately, the project

manager reports to the program director, but he's tied to the center director. He works here, and this guy works here. The program goes out and does two things: they put level of effort tasks on the contractor so they buy effort on the contractor and then they put money on engineering. Now what they've done is they have created a thing that says, I've got your contractor and engineering telling on you.

136. Dunar To the program office?

137. Holt Yes. So now you've got an integration office, system integration office or system engineering integration office or whatever, and this guy, there's always a foot race as to when something happens as to whether the project manager can hear about it before these guys here about it. Literally you're under constant barrage with a thing that says, "You have all these issues and you're not working them. We know you're not working them because we've got you're contractor down here and he's telling us, the guys that work on our level of the test quarters, are telling us that you haven't got a plan and engineering seconds that." So you call up engineering and you call up the boss of the guy who got this thing, and you call McDonnell Douglas and you have a little session. Then you come to a reasonable meeting of the minds that says if it's this bad why in the hell haven't I heard about it. The answer usually comes

back as well that's kind of something somebody took and made some extrapolations and therefore dumped into the system and the answer is that well you realize now that you guys have a self inflicted wound. You won't find that in Huntsville because when Marshall has their level 2 organization, first of all the project office is over here and serves as the chief apologist for the Marshall Space Flight Center.

"We're sorry Bob we just can't do that on your schedule for that kind of money. You need to send us some relief." But, the chief engineer being over here, when the level 2 office showed up at Marshall, it was a level 2 office and here you have Frost as the Deputy Chief Engineer. That's where all the effort goes. Jim Bean had one or two guys up here and a nice office. Frost didn't work for the chief engineer. Now you come to JSC, these guys live on the forth floor, they don't even talk to Jack Vorkin. They don't have to talk to engineering. They've got their own task force and they've got their own organization. They have a set of offices up there. So it's a culture difference that says that engineering in Marshall is integrated within engineering . . .
. [426 tape out - turn it over and start with part III]

138. Dunar . . . of JSC's lead center experience in the sense that you have the program office?

139. Holt I think really its an outgrowth of, during Shuttle you just didn't have, you didn't want to do anything

else. You weren't flying anything else. You had the program here. You had the project manager here and Kraft was Center Director. I don't care who was in Washington, Kraft ran JSC like Bill Lucas ran Marshall. It didn't matter where system integration got done. If engineering wanted to go off and do some stuff on their own, it was OK because I've got them under control over here on the orbitor, and I've got them under control over here on the program. But if the whole campus just up and did the job, and that's been one of the, I suspect Marshall had the same type thing. Everybody went off and worked on shuttle. It didn't matter what kind of, who you worked for, you worked on the program. It was hard to say whether you were working center or working program because there wasn't but one program. Then you had key people like John Yardley at headquarters who then had to go corral Bill Lucas and Kris Kraft and get J.R. to go talk to Thompson and Erin and hammer. He was the hammer and a very effective hammer. He was extremely concerned about the engine development program. He camped out on some really hot topics and set a pretty mean pace for they guys who were having to work both problems. But at the same time, he gave them fundamental organization. He really didn't have to go sort out the whole program, the problem, and everything else. The pace got set by a guy who could make it happen, and that's now all bad either. The same thing with Kraft. We had a lot of OPS guys out here. We had a lot of program. We had to

rebuild the center facilities for a lot of this stuff. I mean we retooled JSC while we were building this program. It all got worked by the center director. Marshall retooled the center. KSC retooled the center. Literally, lead center said that the program direction came from Bob Thompson. Those guys were tough. They were good technical, but in terms of the budgetary and everything, they didn't have the purse string controls as strong as probably it had evolved.

140. Dunar That's what preserved Marshall's autonomy I think too in that Marshall could play at both ends. Sure they were getting direction from Bob Thompson, but they still went to Washington and go around them in a sense.

141. Holt Well, Kohin had to do the same thing. This program, people have tried it. The thing that has gotten Station in trouble a lot of times though, is that people look at the shuttle cost perspective against what Station might have cost, and they compare programmatic cost to programmatic cost without realizing that there wasn't any other program. So the total agency commitment out at Marshall and JSC and Kennedy worked on Shuttle. There is a disguised cost factor in what Shuttle development really cost by the amount of the Civil Service Labor pool that really went into that total. We tend to take a look at the Station so you take the funds source one which is our RPM

source, our civil service, travel, and so forth. I mean that fund was applied to the program. There wasn't anything else to do. I think we tend to forget that. All the facility development was done not totally on programmatic funds. A lot of it was done on construction facility dollars. It's just, I know a lot of the conversations I had back when I first got started up doing the OPS stuff here, I would take a look at the cost projections and we were under attack from people saying well shuttle didn't cost this much. Answer was, "Like hell it didn't! You've got to be dreaming." It's all a question of who's bookkeepers you want to believe.

142. Dunar It's pretty easy I think especially in construction of facilities, that fund especially, with all the test stands at Marshall especially with reconfiguring them to use the Shuttle tests and all that.

143. Holt Oh yes, tremendous amount of money and the priorities you had to put on that stuff, you couldn't have worked that except through the center directors. The business about lead center versus program change and everything that is an old tired argument quite frankly. I think the agency has benefited over the years by having the center directors make a lot of tough calls, and we're down to where center directors are going roads and commodes as space commanders then that is going to be one hell of a

cultural change at the agency and the only way you'll do that is to bring in a significant number of outsiders. If that's the intent then that's the only way they'll do it. They'll have to run a bunch of us off who's spent twenty some odd years doing it this way. Generally, I mean you've got a high profile administrator right now. First time in a long time. Beggs was high profile, but it's not been the norm over the years. I think probably a high profile administrator stays with it for eight to ten years so he can make a lot of changes. If he's a two-year phenomenon he can sure screw up a lot of shit and make life miserable for everybody for a long time.

144. Dunar It remains to be seen what the case will be here too.

145. Holt Right and then you're not sure if the lower agenda to have a department level space and technology cabinet position is part of that scheme. Then we're definitely going to have to change our ways of doing business to fit within something like that. Because there's been years that the guys at the White House didn't have a clue as to who the agency had working at NASA. We've not been on the forefront of the national agenda for a long long time, and we're not enjoying the limelight very much right now. These are times of great change, and there's great change everywhere. The technologies of the space station,

quite frankly there aren't great technologies in this program. Probably the biggest single difference is coming up with coatings and stuff for thirty year programs - analysis techniques and use of graphics and that type of stuff. A lot of that, when you start playing around with crays to build it then what you're building is not as important as the tools you use because now you can build another one. You always end up with these people who evaluate what you, you know they take a look at your computer and say well that's a 386 chip. I can buy a 486 at [514?] . You sure can, but the problem is a 486 won't work because it won't do [515?], and a 386 is out. What do you want to do? On the same thing, Boeing has a chip they developed on a 777 that will work. You can play games in the computer business today. What is the technology? I don't care what you start with today, you're going to be three years behind in a year and a half. It always comes down to what can I, do I have the skills and abilities to manufacture? That is unfortunately when you get into programs and you stamp them up to big levels then they get hung up on specs and requirements instead of what can you do.

146. Dunar That kind of points to the question too of whether NASA has lost, whether through the demise of the arsenal system and contracting, NASA's lost its ability to be able to do that itself or even to monitor contractors.

147. Holt I don't think so. I don't think it lost any capability. I think what we've done is we've been lulled into big heavy duty computerized documentation systems. Now we've got I think I mentioned that as soon as they took the requirements to Restin the first thing they did was a requirements review and wrote 7,000 changes to the basic requirements. There's no reason for that, but that's what inexperienced people do is they try and nail it down so tight that nobody can move instead of realizing that the true negotiation leverage you have is to have a requirement that has an interpretation on it and your contractors' interpretation and your interpretation can be different. Then you can have a real gut issue discussion of whether or not it meets the requirement or not.

148. Dunar In other words, if you have to pin it down too much you then you're cutting out your own flexibility.

149. Holt Right, and on costs plus contracts, you're going to pay. You want to try and minimize the number of changes and fee claims and get back. Every time you send a CCO out, you suck up a \$100K just on paperwork. It doesn't matter. In this program, when we did the restructure, the preintegrated truss was CCO #69. We're over #300 as of right now. A year later we were #169 and it has escalated out of sight. If you just take that on face value, at a

#100K a prop just to process paperwork just on the amount of effort required by Mc Dac to run it through all the organizations.

150. Dunar Part of that too, at least when we've talked to people at Marshall, part of the reaction to Challenger and of being sure that you can detect and document everything .
. . .

151. Holt Oh God yes. Then you get into these requirements and when you have a heavy-duty requirement spec, the bigger the program requirement spec then the more you have to bend. In each program there is a system, a CM system that checks requirement numbers down to the CEI spec. It's a monster. Is it effective? No. Will it cover your ass? Probably.

152. Dunar Well that's a thing that they said too. That that's what you end up doing. Some of this documentation is strictly for that purpose.

153. Holt It is strictly to cover the program manager's ass on the day that something happened.

154. Dunar Then on down the line too because each person then has to do the same thing.

155. Holt Ultimately, the change covers the program manager because it says, "No, no, no. My system says that he told me that he implemented my requirement this way." So the poor bastard that did it at the very farthest level down is the guy that gets pinned. That's what happened to the poor bastard over at Huntsville. The two guys that went out the door on Challenger were the guys who at the project level signed and told the program and the program in Shuttle kept meticulous books. Burt Jackson's running control and configuration management of the Shuttle program. [He] Came back out of retirement just for this purpose. Every one of us and everybody says, "Oh crap! Of all the people JSC could have sent up there why did it have to him. Let's let Marshall do something!"

156. Dunar Well I should end here.

157. Holt I've enjoyed it.

158. Dunar Well this has really been [stop tape
592]